



From Tundra To Forest





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A Chipewyan Resource Manual
Lorraine E. Brandson

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Cover: Mary Tom at Summer Camp, Tadoule Lake, 1975
Photo by Allan Code

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I. Introduction

During 1973, as preparation for Arctic-Subarctic Gallery of the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, I prepared a bibliography of the Chipewyan people for use by curatorial staff. This was a Manitoba Museum project funded by the Provincial Government through the S.T.E.P. program. Curatorial staff, in particular John T. Frishholz, Dr. Peter Douglas Elias and Dr. Ronald J. Nash, were involved in collecting from the Chipewyan people in Manitoba, artifacts, oral histories and photographs. The cooperation and contributions of the Chipewyan people in Manitoba and, in particular, Allan and Mary Code of Tadoule Lake, should be acknowledged.

Obviously it is not possible to exhibit or make use of all the materials and information collected in one permanent gallery. Native communities which have aided museums in certain aspects of their projects do not always have access to, or knowledge of, other information museum staff have collected concerning their culture. Universities and similar interest groups are not always aware of what research is going on elsewhere.

This publication contains information and some photographs from the ethnology collection of the Manitoba Museum with a list of other museums holding Chipewyan artifacts. A short history is presented along with a bibliography of the Chipewyan people. I would like to note that listings of manuscript holdings from the National Museum of Man in Ottawa and the Smithsonian Institute in Washington were transcribed from Richard T. Parr's *Bibliography of Athaspaskan Languages* published in the Mercury Series of the National Museum of Man.

Permission to quote from the Hudson Bay Company Archives is gratefully acknowledged.

In preparing this publication, I have received assistance and encouragement from many members of the museum staff in Winnipeg. The material culture catalogue was prepared from information compiled by Doug Leonard, Geoffrey Bussidor and myself. Doug Smail photographed the artifacts and Geoffrey Bussidor recorded Chipewyan names for the artifacts where this information was missing.

Design, layout and preparation of the manuscript were undertaken by the Productions Division of the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature.

Dr. James G.E. Smith, Curator of North American Ethnology at the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York, New York, Dr. James Parker, University Archivist at the University of Alberta, and Katherine Pettipas, Curator of Native Ethnology at the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, kindly accepted to review the manuscript.

I would like to thank the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature for accepting the manuscript for publication and Marilyn Walker for encouraging me to undertake the project. Lastly, I would like to express my gratitude to my present employer, Bishop Omer Robidoux, o.m.i. for his support in the latter stages of the preparation of this publication.

Lorraine E. Brandson
Eskimo Museum, Churchill
April, 1981

II. Museums with Chipewyan Artifacts

American Museum of Natural History,
New York, New York, United States of America

City Museum and Art Gallery,
Glasgow, Scotland

Danish National Museum,
Copenhagen, Denmark

Deutsches Ledermuseum,
Offenbach am Main, West Germany

Eskimo Museum,
Churchill, Manitoba, Canada

Glenbow-Alberta Institute,
Calgary, Alberta, Canada

McCord Museum,
McGill University, Montreal, Quebec,
Canada

Musee de l'Homme,
Paris, France

Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation,
New York, New York, United States of America

National Museum of Man,
Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre,
Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, Canada

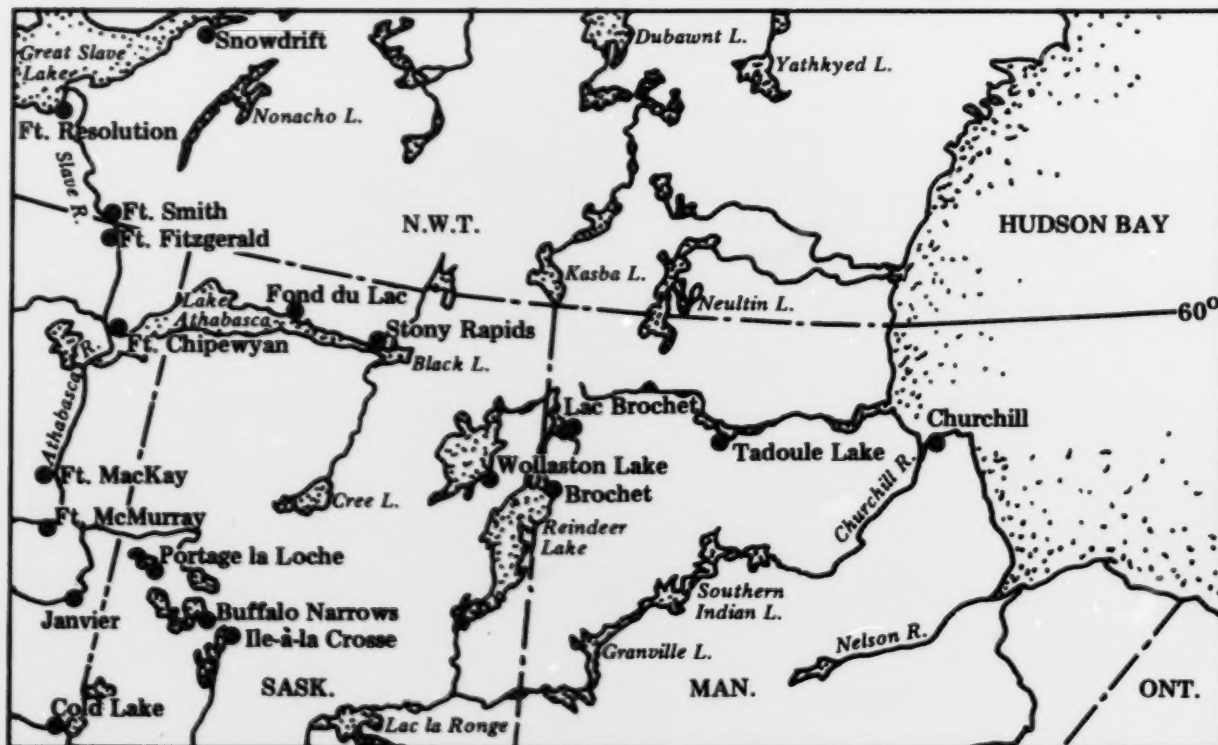
Provincial Museum of Alberta,
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

Royal Ontario Museum,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Royal Scottish Museum,
Edinburgh, Scotland

PRESENT CHIPEWYAN LOCATIONS

(adapted with permission from Dr. J.G.E. Smith: 1971)



III. History

The Chipewyan, or "Dene", as they prefer to call themselves, are the most eastern and widely distributed group of Athapaskan-speaking people. In the eighteenth century two divisions were recognized. The Chipewyan or Northern Indians were distributed from Hudson Bay north to the Seal River and west to Great Slave Lake. The Copper or Yellowknife Indians were distributed from Great Slave Lake northwest to the Arctic. The major divisions of the Chipewyan, as recognized by Emile Petitot in the nineteenth century, were the Caribou Eaters (EtOeneldili-dene) of the taiga and tundra, who remained in their traditional territories; the Thilanottine (dwellers at the head of the lakes), living in the boreal forest, transitional parkland and lake zone of the Churchill River; the Athabaskans (or Kkrest ' ayle kke ottine, dwellers of the trembling aspen), living in the full boreal forest; and the Yellowknives (T ' atsanottine).

(Petitot, 1876a, p. 26)

Petitot, 1876b, p. xx)

This history will deal with the Caribou Eater branch of the Chipewyan people, with the last section focusing on the Duck Lake or Churchill band in Manitoba.

CARIBOU EATERS

The term Caribou Eaters appears in publication in 1820 in George Simpson's journals as "Carribeau Eaters" and is a common term for the Chipewyan living at the forest edge. (Rich ed., 1938, p. 370; Legoff, 1889 b; Penard, 1929, p. 20; Petitot, 1876 a, p. 26; Petitot, 1876 b, p. xx). The name stemmed from their heavy dependence upon the migratory and nomadic barren-ground caribou (*Rangifer tarandus groenlandicus*). The territory exploited by the Caribou Eaters was roughly the same as the area utilized by two caribou herds, the Kaminuriak and the Beverly. In the spring the Chipewyan moved north to the barren grounds of the central Keewatin and back to the forest with the approaching winter.

Communal hunts were organized to kill the barren-ground caribou. Each Caribou Eater band, probably numbering from two to four hundred people, concentrated together when the major caribou migration began and then split up into regional bands when the herds had subdivided. The "deer" would be driven into pounds or speared from canoes as they crossed rivers and lakes. In forested areas only one or two people hunted together, using bows and arrows or snares. A decoy to attract the caribou was made out of caribou antler tips tied with string to the hunter's belt, and when juggled with his leg made sounds similar to the clicking of caribou joints.

A good caribou kill would be necessary to provide food for man and dogs, hides for clothing and lodging, sinew for sewing the hides together, bone and antler for tools and implements, and prepared thongs of babiche for stringing snowshoes and making snares or dog harnesses. Clothing would be made from young caribou (calves or yearlings) hunted during August or September, as those hides obtained after September would begin to have holes from the warble flies. Each year the clothing would wear out, so a new set of hides had to be obtained.

Although fewer in numbers, muskox and woodland caribou were other big-game food sources. Today, moose can be found in the northern forested range, but probably were scarce in the past.

Migratory birds, particularly waterfowl, contributed greatly as a food resource. The Canada goose migrates north in the spring, arriving in Churchill in April, with a southward migration beginning near the end of August. Small game and ptarmigan could be killed with bows and club-tipped arrows. A mouse decoy attracted birds of prey such as the owl, hawk, or eagle.

Inland lakes contain bountiful whitefish, trout and northern pike. Arctic char reach the river estuaries of the Hudson Bay in late July and early August where they ascend the rivers to spawn. Nets of woven rawhide or willow bark, and later cotton twine were used to catch the fish in the summer; whereas winter fishing was done through the ice with jigging hooks baited with charms. An ice chisel, used in winter fishing, was a popular trade good bought from the fur trading post in European contact times.

Prehistory and History

Archaeological investigations in the transitional forest zone of northern Manitoba and the southern Keewatin district of the Northwest Territories have been carried out in the localities of Shethanei Lake, Little Duck Lake, Caribou Lake, Windy and Mountain lakes. Dr. Ronald J. Nash links up the Duck Lake Archaeological phase composed of these localities with the Caribou Eater Chipewyan and states that the Chipewyan have been long-term residents of the transitional forest zone since at least 500 A.D.

(Nash, 1975, p. 176)

The first published historical reference to the Caribou Eater Chipewyan appears in 1689 when Captain James Young from the Hudson's Bay Company sent Henry Kelsey north to find the "Northern Indians" and direct them to trade at a soon to be completed northern post at the Churchill River:

" we saw none although we travelled about 200 miles in search of them and when we came back to Churchill the house was burnt that was building for trade."

(Kelsey, 1929, p. 88)

Knowledge of the Chipewyan presence by the Hudson's Bay Company had come through a traditional enemy, the Cree:

" the Crees, equipped with guns from the factories on the Bay, carried on an exterminating war against the Athapascans"

(Kenney ed., 1932, p. 51)

The Hudson's Bay Company knew that, before they could establish a post at Churchill, peace would have to be made between the Cree and the Chipewyan. Captain James Knight, the Governor at York Fort, sent William Stewart north to make peace between them. Guided by a Chipewyan woman along with a large contingent of Cree, the Chipewyan were found in the winter of 1715-16 and peace was made:

" at length the captain's party came upon a "tent" where they found the bodies of 9 Northern Indians who had recently been killed. In terror of a counter-attack the Crees would have fled but the Northern woman insisted on their remaining in camp while she went on to seek her countrymen. At the end of ten days she was back with 160 men, who, when the situation had been explained, solemnly smoked the pipe of peace offered by the Cree captain."

(Kenney ed., 1932, pp. 55-56)

In the summer of 1717, Churchill Factory was built. Captain Knight supplied the Chipewyan with firearms and the Inuit (Eskimo), another enemy of the Chipewyan who had seasonally occupied the Churchill area, were pressured north. The Chipewyan prevented the Yellowknife and Dogrib from trading at the Churchill post and established themselves as middlemen.

Why had Captain Knight pushed so hard for the Northern Indian trade? Through the Northern Indians Captain Knight had heard there were places west where gold could be found:

"On 8 May, 1716, after describing at some length the prevalence of copper among the Northern Indians, he adds, "but that is not Still what I am Endeavouring to gett of Endeavour to Discover Thare is a Parcell of Indians as lyes upon the next Seas as has a Yellow Mettle as they make use of as these do Copper."

(Kenney, ed., 1932, p. 64)

Although the Northern Indians told him that there was no overland route to this "gold", Knight didn't believe this, and told the Hudson's Bay Company if they wouldn't sponsor an attempt by him to discover this route, he would approach the Crown. In the summer of 1719, the Hudson's Bay Company outfitted him with two ships, the "Albany" and "Discovery", and instructed him to keep north of the latitude 64 degrees N. Knight disappeared. Remains of his ships and houses that his crew constructed were found later on Marble Island.

During the 1720's, trade flourished at Churchill Fort, draining away trade from the post at York Factory. The Hudson's Bay Company decided to build a stone fort to protect their Hudson Bay trade from the French with the location to be changed to Eskimo Point at the entrance to the Churchill River.¹ The first foundation stones for the Prince of Wales Fort were laid in 1732 but the Fort wasn't completed until 1771.

During the early part of the fur trade, the Hudson's Bay Company had both their fur trading posts, York Factory and the post on the Churchill River, on coastal sites. Ships from Gravesend were loaded in June with food, equipment and building supplies and left for the return voyage with a lighter cargo of furs, whale oil and baleen. Annual ship visitations were not a certainty. The company men weren't fully capable of supporting themselves and often relied on the Chipewyan for their food.

"As a great part of the Factory provisions consists of geese killed by the Indians, the English supply them with powder and shot for this purpose, allowing them the value of a beaver skin for every ten geese they kill; accordingly, after the Indians has got his supply, he sets off from his tent early in the morning into the marshes, where he sets himself down, with a degree of patience difficult to be imitated, and being sheltered by a few willows, waits for the geese. They shoot them flying, and so are very dexterous at this sport, that a good hunter will kill, in times of plenty, fifty or sixty in a day. Few Europeans are able to endure cold, fatigue, hunger, or adversity in any shape, with an equal degree of magnanimity and composure to that which is familiar to the natives of this country. After being out a whole day on a hunt, exposed to the bleakest winds and most penetrating cold, and that without the least thing to satisfy the calls of nature, an Indian comes home, warms himself at the fire, smokes a few pipes of tobacco, and then retires to rest, as calm as if in the midst of plenty; but if he happens to have a family, he cannot always boast of this equanimity; when reduced to extremity, his affec-

1. This Eskimo Point site is not to be confused with the modern Inuit settlement of Eskimo Point about 200 miles north of Churchill.

tion for them predominated over his philosophy, if it might be so called, and it gives way to the most pungent sorrow."

(Umfreville, 1954, p. 20-21)

The Chipewyan would trade their furs at the Fort in early April for supplies of food (oatmeal), ammunition, and head out in late May or early June to hunt geese. They would then return to the Fort to get paid and head northward to the calving grounds of the caribou. If it was a bad year for geese or they arrived late, debts would be rung up while they were living in the post area. Then a good caribou kill was necessary to reduce this debt. The unpredictability of caribou migration patterns would result in starvation and further debt. If a debt became too high, the Chipewyan would trade with the sloops that sailed north out of the Churchill area every year.

The Cree, probably recruited from the York Factory or South Indian Lake area, were the original "Home Guard" Indians at the Hudson's Bay Company post, but were replaced by the Chipewyan by 1778. They taught the white men to hunt, make clothing and snowshoes, and provided services such as translation work, the delivery of mail and collection of wood.

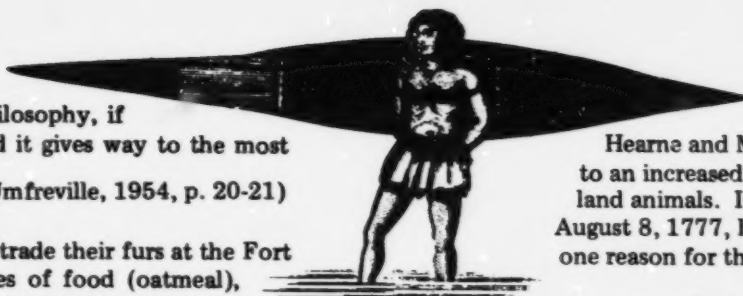
Attempts to reach the copper mines were revived in 1762 when the Hudson's Bay Company sent Moses Norton and Captain Christopher to find a water route.

This led them to Baker Lake and no farther. Moses Norton hired two Chipewyan Indians, Idotiazee and Matonabbee to find the copper and to chart a route. In 1768, a report was handed back to him. Norton went to the Hudson's Bay Company and consequently, Samuel Hearne was sent on an expedition. In 1771, on his third attempt, Hearne reached the Coppermine:

"By their account the hills were entirely composed of that metal, all in handy lumps, like a heap of pebbles. But their account differed so much from the truth, that I and almost all my companions expended near four hours in search of some of This metal with such poor success, that among us all, only one piece of any size could be found.

(Glover ed., 1958, p.112)

This third successful attempt was mainly due to the guidance and direction given to Hearne by a Chipewyan, Matonabbee. He made sure that the women were brought along to carry supplies, leaving the men free to hunt for food. The relationship



A drawing of a Chipewyan Man by Samuel Hearne

established between

Hearne and Matonabbee led to an increased trade in woodland animals. In a letter dated August 8, 1777, Hearne explains one reason for the change:

"... finding it impossible to induce any Number of Southern Indians to visit

this Fort I have struck into a new method which is that of sending my Northern Indians inland to trade the Furs from the Athapuscow Indians which plan has already so far exceeded my most sanguine expectations that I now send the Company 12685 Beaver exclusive of 429 after package last year out of which no more than 2000 has been brought by Southern Indians and Home Guards included so that my Northern Indian trade this year is upwards of 11000 and am in good hopes of doubling it in time."

(Hudson's Bay Company Archives Churchill B42/a/94, fo. 43)

The Hudson's Bay Company encouraged their men to become more self-sufficient so that the only service the Indians would need to render would be the collection of furs. With the help of the Indians, this eventually came about. Competition with the French, who had established inland posts by the mid-eighteenth century, kept the prices of fur down. Joseph Robson, visiting the Prince of Wales Fort, reported this about the French:

"The French have been encouraged to travel many hundred miles over land from Canada, and up many rivers that have great waterfalls, in order to make trading settlements; and that they carry on a friendly intercourse with the natives at the heads of most of our rivers westward of the Bay, even as far as Churchill River, and intercept the Company's trade."

(Robson, 1752, p. 7)

After the Seven Years War in the 1750's, the French had to give up their fur trade interests. New competition, British-Canadians operating out of Montreal (Peter Pond, Alexander Henry, the Fro-bishers, etc.) moved inland. Finally, the Hudson's Bay Company decided to build posts inland and in 1774, Samuel Hearne was dispatched to open a post, Cumberland House, on the Saskatchewan River. But all the trouble with the French wasn't over. In 1775, Hearne returned to the Prince of Wales Fort as the newly appointed Governor and on the 8th day of August in 1782, three war vessels, one with 74 guns, and two with 36 guns approached the Fort. Samuel

Hearne, having only 39 men in the Fort, surrendered to the French Admiral, Jean-Francois Galaup, Comte de la Perouse. For two days the French attempted to destroy the fort. They managed to burn the wooden buildings, set off charges in the mouths of the cannon and blow in the walls of the stone barracks, but couldn't destroy the 30 to 40 foot thick walls. Hearne and his men were taken prisoner. In 1783, Hearne was back in Churchill and built a new post up the river a few miles.

The fact that the fur trading companies competed against each other was to the advantage of the Indians who played trader against trader to receive more trade goods. In 1804 the two companies based out of Montreal, the XY Company and North West Company joined forces under the North West Company's name. By 1821, the fierce contest between the Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company came to an end with an agreement drawn up uniting the two companies under the name of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Monopoly was in force now and a memo which was distributed to all Hudson's Bay Company posts read:

"Their immediate wants have been fully supplied but of course the scenes of extravagance are at an end, and it will be a work of time to reconcile them to the new order of things I have made it my study to examine the nature and character of Indians and however repugnant it might be to our feelings, I am convinced that they must be ruled with a rod of Iron to bring them and keep them in a proper state of subordination, and the most certain way to effect this is by letting them feel their dependence upon us In the woods and northern barren grounds this measure ought to be pursued rigidly next year if they do not improve, and no credit, not so much as a load of ammunition, given them until they exhibit an inclination to renew their habits of industry."

(Innis ed., 1970, p. 287)

By this time, the Chipewyan were dependent on the Europeans for guns, traps and numerous other trade goods. This was a different situation from when Samuel Hearne was first among them:

"The real wants of these people are few, and easily supplied: a hatchet, an ice-chisel, a file and a knife, are all that is required to procure a comfortable livelihood."

(Glover ed., 1958, p. 51)

The late 18th and early 19th century saw an expansion of Chipewyan into more southern areas. With fur-bearing animals more numerous to the

south of their traditional lands and a reduction of Cree populations due to a smallpox epidemic, this was possible. According to George Simpson,

"The Chipewyan do not consider this part of the Country (Lake Athabasca) to be their legitimate Soil; they come in large Bands from their own barren lands situated to the North of this Lake, extending to the Eastern extremity of Gt. Slave Lake and embracing a Large Track of Country towards Churchill but became expert Beaver hunters, and now penetrate in search of that valuable animal into the Cree and Beaver Indian hunting grounds, making a circuit easterly by Carribeau Lake; to the South by Isle a la Croose; and Westerly to the Banks of Peace River The greater portion of them however remain on their own barren lands, where they procure sustenance with little exertion."

(Simpson, 1938, p. 355-56)

After the Hudson's Bay Company became a monopoly, again the Caribou Eater Chipewyan were subject to little outside pressure, and major changes in most aspects of their culture did not occur until the twentieth century. Some changes did occur amongst the western bands of the Caribou Eater population where the Oblate Fathers had worked since 1847. Polygamy, the acquisition of more than one wife, was prohibited as was the traditional practice of wrestling for wives.

The Duck Lake or Churchill Band

Since the mid-nineteenth century the Caribou Eaters have been recognized as being composed of five regional bands: the Duck Lake or Churchill Band, the Barren Lands Band, the Black Lake or Stony Rapids Band, the Fond du Lac Band, and the Hatchet Lake or Wollaston Lake Band. The Duck Lake or Churchill Band traditionally had a large camping area and settlement at Little Duck Lake, north of the Seal River which was the location of a major crossing of the Kaminuriak herd. Churchill, the site of the main trading post, also drew the Chipewyan seasonally east to the shores of the Hudson Bay.

In 1929, the railroad line to Churchill from the south was completed and fears of competition from free traders probably motivated the Hudson's Bay Company to open a new post inland. The first spot, seventy miles northwest of Churchill at Caribou Lake, was vacated in the spring of 1941 and Duck Lake, one hundred and forty miles northwest of Churchill, became the site for the new post around which the majority of the Churchill band gathered. Others lived in the vicinity of the North Knife River.



Camp on the west side of the Churchill River.

R.W. Patterson Collection, Manitoba Archives.

At Duck Lake, the Chipewyan lived in separate households (small log structures or tents) a short distance from the post. Around the beginning of November one or two men would leave to start trapping. A toboggan or sled with five or six dogs was used for transportation and mink, fox, beaver, muskrat, otter and wolverine could be trapped. Supplies from the post such as flour, lard, pork and tea were bought beforehand and once they were out on the trapline, caribou, ptarmigan and beaver could be caught. In times of desperation fish were eaten. During the winter traders from the post would travel out to the people, sometimes bringing supplies, but mainly buying furs. Some Chipewyan would travel east to Churchill to trade at the S. and M. or Hudson's Bay store.

Trapping would usually continue until spring except for a break at Christmas time when a large celebration would take place. A great feast with drum dances and prayer meetings led by the Anglican lay reader was held. This is what one man recorded about his remembrances at Christmas:

"On Christmas day a guitar or violin was used, the chief would feed the people . . . people used to go to Church at midnight by dog team. It was far to the Church, perhaps five to ten miles. People used to start hitching up their dogs and dogs used to bark with excitement and everybody was excited and happy, life was sure beautiful at that time."

(Duck, O.T. 491, 1973)¹

Other Chipewyan travelled to Churchill where

church services were held by the Roman Catholic church in town and the Anglican church across the Churchill River.

In summer all the people were together again and this was a time of great joy with much visiting and regular attendance at prayer meetings. Food rations bought after the sale of furs, and local resources of duck, geese and fish kept everyone's stomach full. In the spring and fall caribou could be hunted in narrows on the lake north of the post.

One event which everyone looked forward to in the summer was the passing out of treaty provisions. All the families arrived at the Treaty grounds close to the post and set up their tents in a circle. The R.C.M.P. (after the Second World War the Indian Agent) took the roll call and each entitled person received their five dollars. Later in the day rations would be distributed to each family. The ears of wolves, which were collected by the Indians as a bounty, were piled up by the policeman and burned with gasoline.

(O.T. 491, 1973)

In 1948 the fur market fell in and traders in Churchill took on jobs with the army. By the mid-50's the Hudson's Bay Company decided to close their Duck Lake post. The Department of Indian Affairs made a decision to relocate the band to Churchill where they could receive better education, health care and other services. A band meeting was called in Duck Lake and the Chipewyan were told they would be moved to Churchill and looked after by the Indian Affairs Branch. In the spring a few

1. Duck refers to the surname of the person recorded, O. T. 491 refers to the Oral Tape Number of the collection of the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, and 1973 refers to the date of recording.



The Powderhorn Family at Churchill, 1956

Manitoba Archives

families took their dogteams and moved on their own. When the planes arrived, the majority of the band was evacuated to Churchill without time to prepare themselves or to gather their belongings, although there would have been no room on the plane for them anyway. Their boats, traps, household items and dogteams had to be left behind. Chipewyan from the Brochet area who visited and lived for short times in the Duck Lake area returned to Brochet.

There is much confusion surrounding the explanations given for the relocation of the Duck Lake Band. The local white people in Churchill believed that the Chipewyan were relocated because of starvation due to the post closing, children being sick due to malnutrition, or children not being sent to residential schools. One account relates that information on the slaughter of caribou was communicated to the Premier of the Province who put the necessary pressure on the Department of Indian Affairs to have the band relocated.

Interviews with band members years later cited many of them believing their evacuation was due to the killing of too many caribou to the displeasure of

the game warden. One account cites a different reason:

"People were happy when they were living there but someone said they found a place where there were a lot of caribou or they had the rumour going around that they found a place so people wanted to go back to Churchill. Three plane loads was all it took and everyone was back in Churchill.

(Bighead, O.T. 492, 1973)

Life in Duck Lake as discussed by different band members on oral tapes recorded some 20 years later is presented as a very idyllic existence despite the many hardships which certainly must have existed. This must be because their life in Churchill was perceived as being extremely negative.

The original plan to have the band summer on North Knife River and winter in Churchill fell through. The Chipewyan who came to Churchill by dogteam settled across the Churchill River and the rest who arrived by planes were eventually settled into Camp 10, located on the cold and windy Bay side of the townsite. One section of the site was located adjacent to the cemetery. The older people, believing that the dead returned to talk with relations

and make people sick, didn't like living there. A later move brought the people to a village (Dene Village) built at a treed location south-west of the town.

Trapping wasn't revived except for a few cases by people across the Churchill River. For a time, the people fished for ciscos in Hudson Bay behind Camp 10, or at a spot closer to Fort Churchill. Gill nets would be set at low tide and brought in when the next tide went out. But the income to the community mainly came through old age pensions, welfare, the selling of scrap copper and casual summer labour.

Social problems arose - child neglect, ill health, vandalism, alcohol abuse and criminality. Ravindra Lal, a Research Assistant and Staff Consultant for the Government of Manitoba in 1966, cited the reasons he felt the Chipewyan had trouble coping with their new environment:

[a] "At the time of the move, almost no one over 18 years of age had attended school, for the Indian Affairs Branch had only begun to send some of the children to Residential Schools since 1951, the half dozen or so adults that had some schooling had spent their childhood years in the Chipewyan settlement at Brochet.

[b] Approximately a dozen adults had been employed in casual labour prior to the move.¹

[c] Except for the children attending school, few had more than a smattering knowledge of English.

[d] The band members solidly believed through their innocence and ignorance that the Government, subsequent to the move, was now going to take full care of them.

(Lal, 1969, p. 6)

It is not possible to relate the efforts and or failures of government agencies to help the Chipewyan adapt to the life style in Churchill. In the fall of 1969, the first experimental project to see whether the people wanted to or would be able to return to the bush was tried out at North Knife Lake where about 7 people spent 4 months. Further experiments eventually led to the settlement of a large community at Tadoule Lake where they are presently located.

The community is not self-sufficient but fish, caribou and moose are caught and traplines are being used by some members of the band. Supplies are flown in by Indian Affairs on chartered flights and a band operated store called the Dene Trading Post is in operation.

The daily medical needs are cared for by a local resident community health worker with support and

backup provided through the Northern Medical Services.

Education facilities are provided for children attending school up to the grade four level with the older students being flown out to Dauphin or Winnipeg.

Most of the people live in self-constructed log cabins heated by converted 45 gallon oil drums used as wood stoves. A housing project utilizing materials flown in from the outside employed local men.

Anglican church services are regularly conducted by two trained local lay people in a newly constructed log church. The resident Churchill minister pays a monthly visit.

The future of the community of Tadoule Lake lies in the hands of the young people and what they want for their future. The sentiments and feelings of one older woman concerning the community were recorded in 1973:

"When a person is living like we are out here we have good thoughts, thoughts which are not screwed up by booze. A person is usually concerned about the whole group and hope and pray that things will work out fine for everyone. Those who think this way, continue."

(Clipping, O.T. 488, 1973)

1. Some of the men worked at the harbour and at Art Anderson's store in town during the summer.

IV. Material Culture of the Manitoba Chipewyan



CARIBOU SPEAR (*Thünle*)

The spear is used to hunt caribou from canoes as they cross rivers or lakes.

Wood, caribou skin thong, iron

175.8 cm, 4.5 cm; Little Duck Lake, 1962;
Gordon Emberley; H4.31-46

CROSSBOW (*Di kginle tinnē*)

This bow can shoot either arrows or marbles.

Wood, caribou skin thong, metal

80.6 cm, 87.1 cm; Sandy French – Churchill, 1968;
Dr. R. J. Nash; H4.31-7

Key:

175.8 cm. – length of artifact
4.5 cm. – width of artifact
Little Duck Lake – place collected
1962 – year collected
Gordon Emberley – collector
H4.31-46 – MMMN catalogue number



CARIBOU LURE (*Ě děa thěale yěe*)

The hunter wears the lure hanging from his belt when hunting caribou in the forest. The sound of the antler sticks rattling against each other is similar to the clicking of caribou joints.

Caribou antler, commercial string

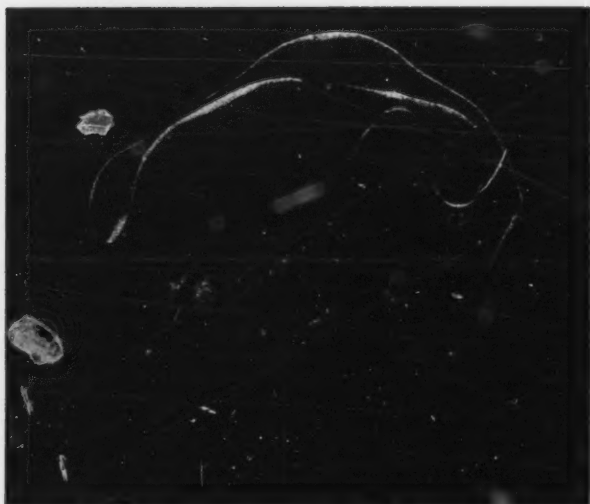
34.5 cm, 10 cm; Joe Bighead – Churchill, 1968;
Dr. R. J. Nash; H4.31-20

BOW AND ARROWS (*Inle tingh & gkăw*)

The blunt arrows are used to kill ptarmigan.

Wood, caribou skin thong, fishing line, paint (?)

a – 125.5 cm, 2.7 cm; b – 69.1 cm, 2.5 cm; c – 69.5 cm,
2.5 cm; Sandy French – Churchill, 1968;
Dr. R. J. Nash; H4.31-5a,b,c



BAG (Nāl chēth)

Smoke-tanned hide, gabardine, thread, native-tanned hide

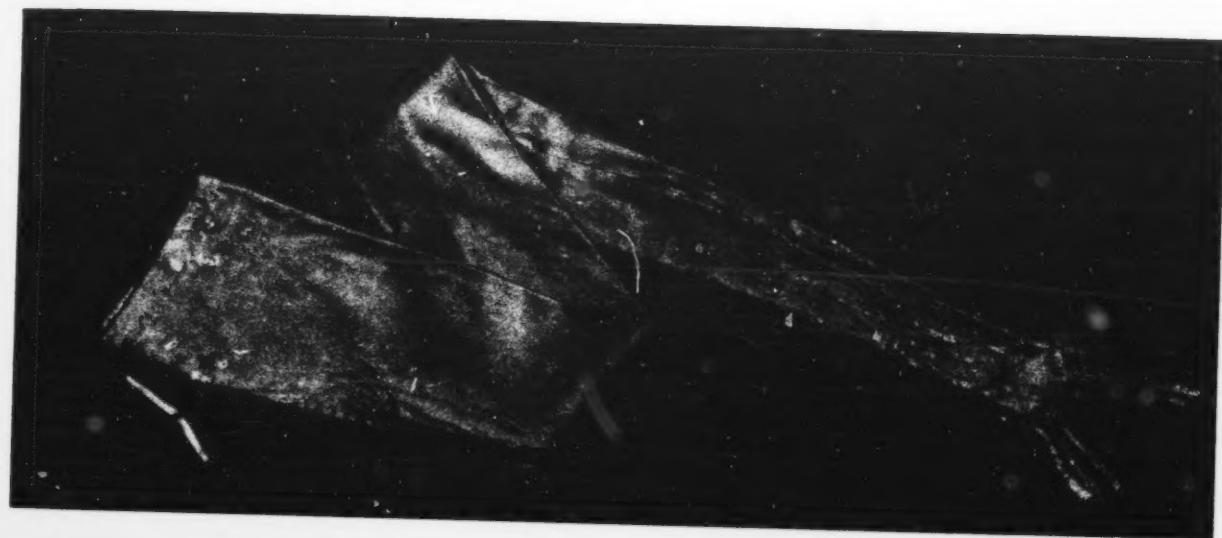
20.5 cm, 17 cm; Joe Bighead — Churchill, 1968; H4.31-26



TELESCOPE CASE (Běyāyěhēa tdēen thēth)

Commercially tanned caribou hide, linen thread

61 cm, 7 cm; Fanny Clipping — Tadoule Lake, 1974;
John T. Frishholz, Allan and Mary Code; H4.31-79



GAME BAG (*Hă tdăthēē nōnl chēth*)

Meat is preserved and carried in skin bags.

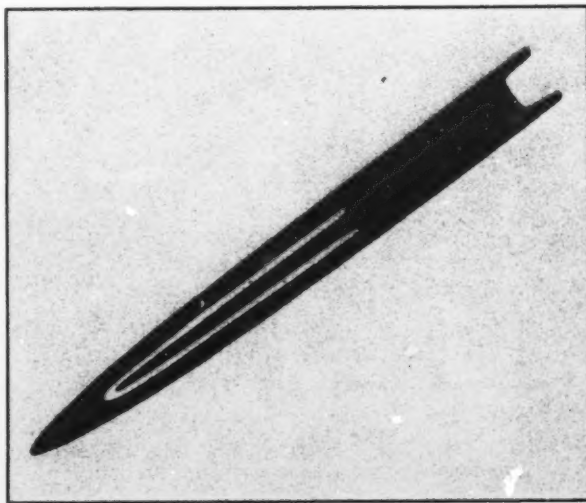
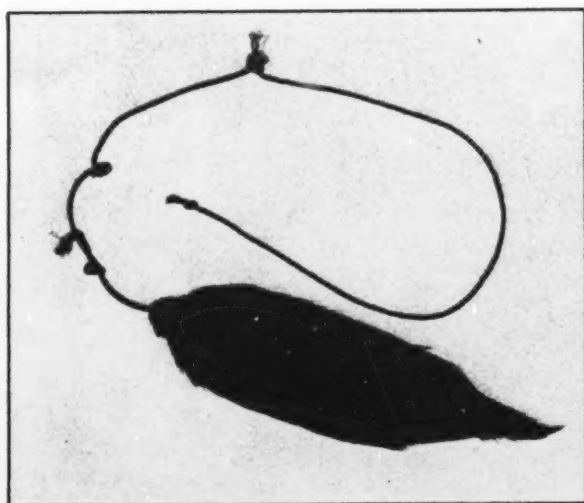
*Commercially tanned caribou hide,
caribou sinew*

47.5 cm, 45.5 cm; Fanny Clipping – Tadoule Lake, 1974;
John T. Frishholz, Allan and Mary Code; H4.31-80

GUN CASE (*Gūnnth*)

*Commercially tanned caribou hide,
caribou sinew*

132 cm, 17.5 cm; Fanny Clipping – Churchill, 1974;
John T. Frishholz, Allan and Mary Code; H4.31-81



FISHING EQUIPMENT

The jigging rod and lure are used for ice fishing.

Wood, iron, commercial string, fish, foil paper

38.9 cm, 2 cm; Sandy Ellice – Churchill, 1968;

Dr. R. J. Nash; H4.31-32

OWL DECOY (*Ye lă bă bēth*)

The decoy, hung from a small wooden tepee-like frame, attracts hawks or owls.

Caribou skin, cotton thread, hard objects

15 cm, 5 cm; Joe Bighead – Churchill, 1968;

Dr. R. J. Nash; H4.31-21

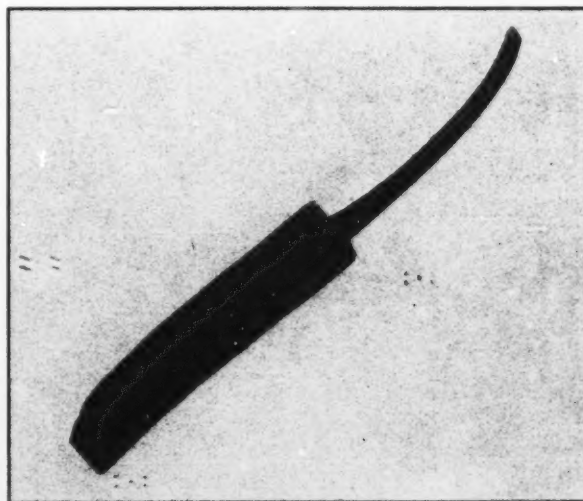
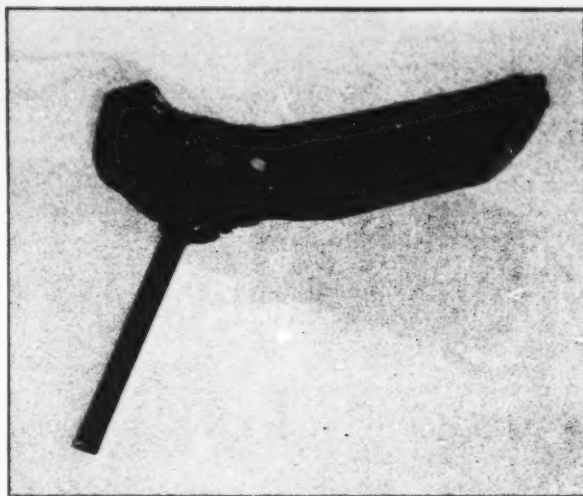
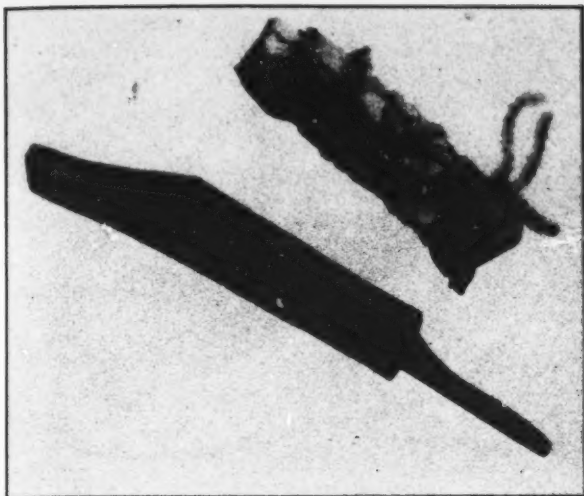
NET SHUTTLE (*Ěn thŭl chěně*)

The net shuttle is used for weaving fish nets.

Wood

37.7 cm, 3.75 cm; John Clipping – Tadoule Lake, 1974;

John T. Frishholz; H4.31-90



KNIFE AND BLADE PROTECTOR (*Bis halth*)

This knife is used for carving objects (i.e., wooden snowshoes). The motion is towards the user.

Caribou bone, steel blade, Hudson's Bay Company paper bag, yellow woolen yarn

a - 21 cm, 3.1 cm; b - 12 cm, 6 cm; Albert Anderson - Churchill, 1973; Dr. P.D. Elias, Allan Code, H4.31-66 a,b

FIRE STEEL (*Clě lě*)

The fire steel is used for making fires and sharpening knives. The donor believes the artifact was received as a trade item years ago at Fort Prince of Wales.

Metal

6.7 cm, 3.2 cm; Albert Anderson - Churchill, 1973; Dr. P. D. Elias, Allan Code; H4.31-69

DRILL (*Bě dtă dē chēně ěl dētthě*)

The drill is used to make holes in hard material such as wood, bone or antler.

Iron, antler, commercial string

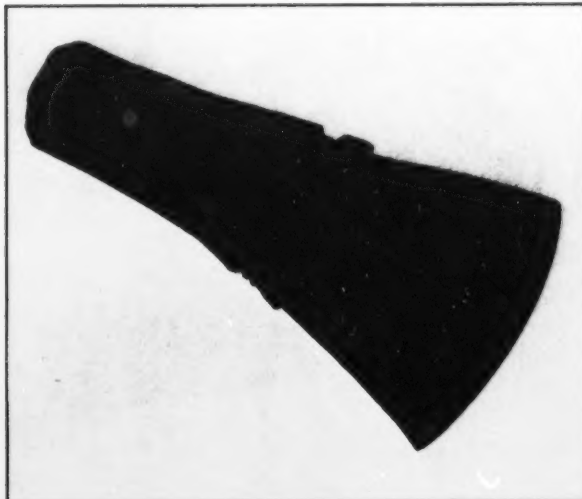
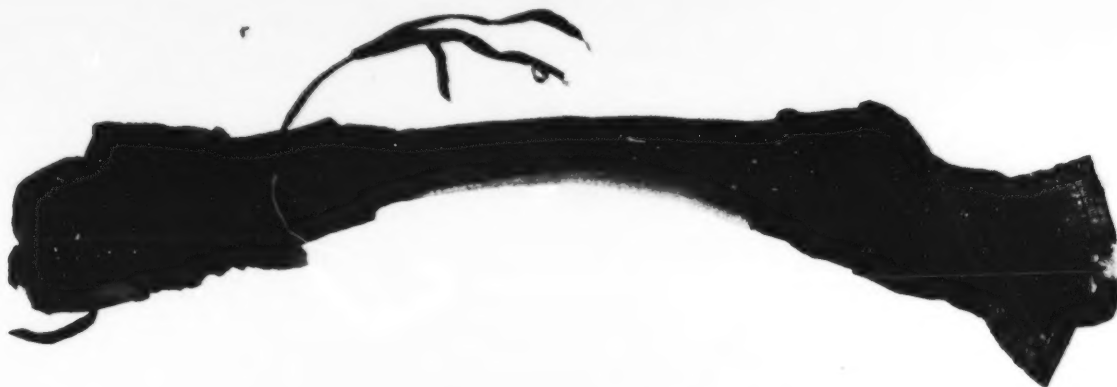
13 cm, 3.5 cm; Joe Bighead - Churchill, 1968; Dr. R. J. Nash; H4.31-19

CROOKED KNIFE (*Bēs haũth*)

This knife is used in woodworking and is drawn towards the user. It would be useful in the construction of drum frames or canoe ribs.

Hudson's Bay Company blade, caribou antler, wood

20 cm, 3 cm; Peter Busaidor - Churchill, 1968; Dr. R.J. Nash; H4.31-33



TWO HANDED SCRAPER (*Ine thinnlě*)

This tool is used to scrape the hair off the hides and is held with two hands.

Caribou bone

31.3 cm, 4.3 cm; Joe Bighead – Churchill, 1968;
Dr. R. J. Nash; H4.31-22

FLESHER (*Ine ghōl*)

This tool is used to remove flesh from the animal's hide.

Right tibia of a cow (Bos taurus), caribou hide, thread

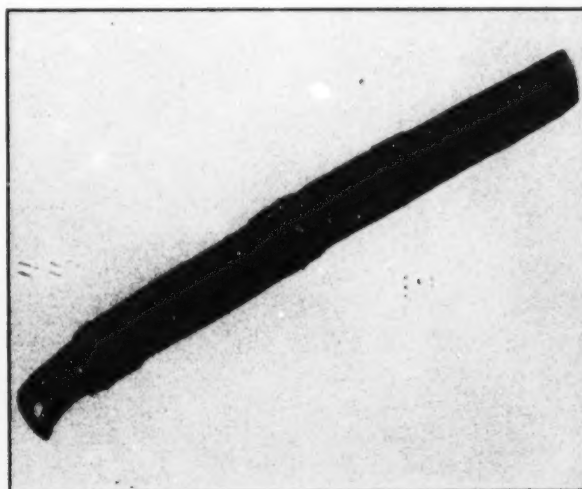
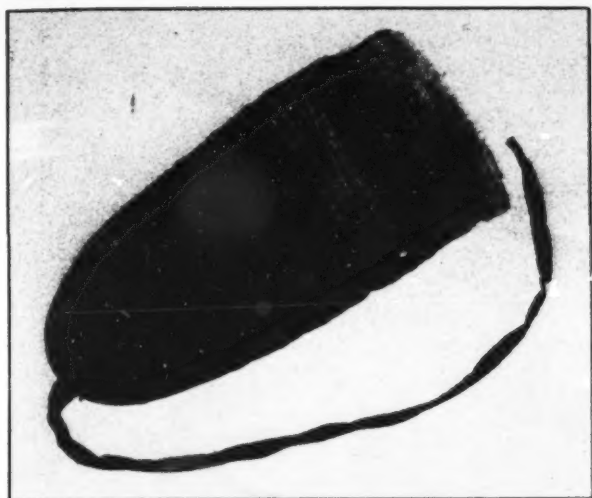
30 cm, 10 cm; Churchill, 1968;
Dr. R. J. Nash; H4.31-42

SCRAPER (*EE-woldth-nay-chi*)

This tool is used to scrape the hide prior to tanning. The hair and tissue have already been removed. This would be done in the winter time when the hide is frozen.

Caribou antler, metal, copper wire

15 cm, 8 cm; Mrs. Mary Ann Thorassie – Churchill, 1973;
Dr. P. D. Elias, Allan Code; H4.31-63



SEWING BAG (*E nhl kǐn nǎl chēth*)

The sewing bag contained thimbles, needles and thread. It was stored rolled up and fastened with a tying strap.

Cloth - gabardine, wool flannel, gingham, cottonduck, sateen

26 cm, 12 cm; Mrs. Mary Ann Thorassie — Churchill, 1973;
Dr. P. D. Elias, Allan Code; H4.31-72

AWL (*Thǔl*)

The awl is used to punch holes in the hides and was used before needles were introduced.

Commercially tanned caribou hide, bone, caribou sinew

19.75 cm, 3.25 cm; John Clipping — Tadoule Lake, 1974;
John T. Frishholz; H4.31-91

TANNING KNIFE

This tool is used in the latter stages of skin preparation. The sharp scraping edges clean away a thin layer of skin after the hair and flesh have been removed.

Wood, metal, cotton-backed tape

28.6 cm, 3.2 cm; Peter Bussidor — Churchill, 1968;
Dr. R. J. Nash; H4.31-35



PADDLES (*Dtóth*)

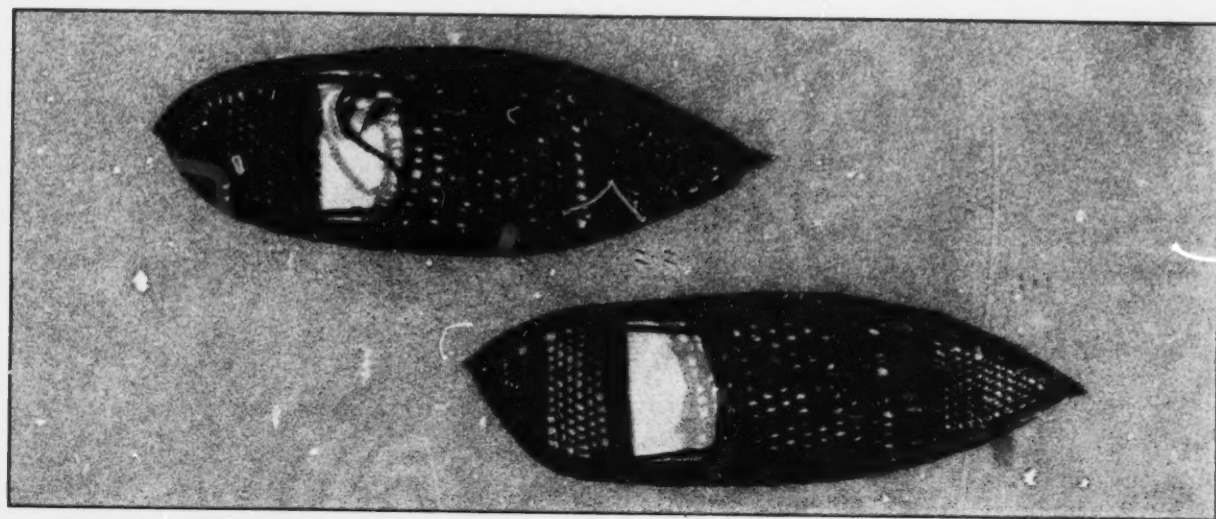
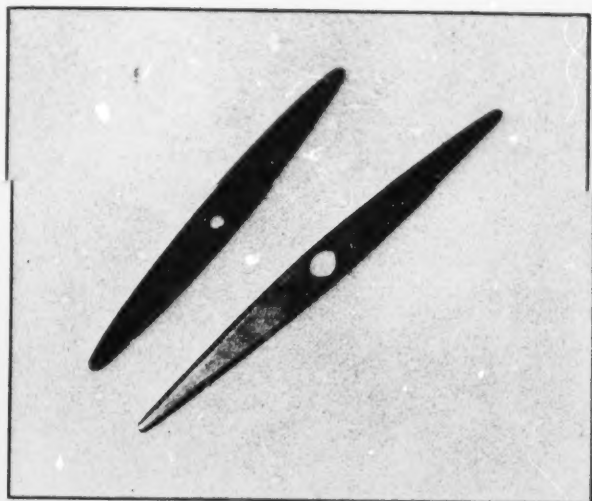
Wood, grey paint, metal

a — 141.5 cm, 10.5 cm; b — 150.5 cm, 9.7 cm; Little Duck Lake, 1971; Dr. R. J. Nash; H4.31-59 a, b

MODEL CANOE (*Tzēē*)

Birchbark, wood, spruce gum

58.5 cm, 17.1 cm; H4.31-49



SNOWSHOE NEEDLES (*Cloole chěně*)

a - Copper

b - Aluminum

a - 8.3 cm, .9 cm; b - 10.3 cm, .9 cm;

John Bussidor - Churchill, 1968;

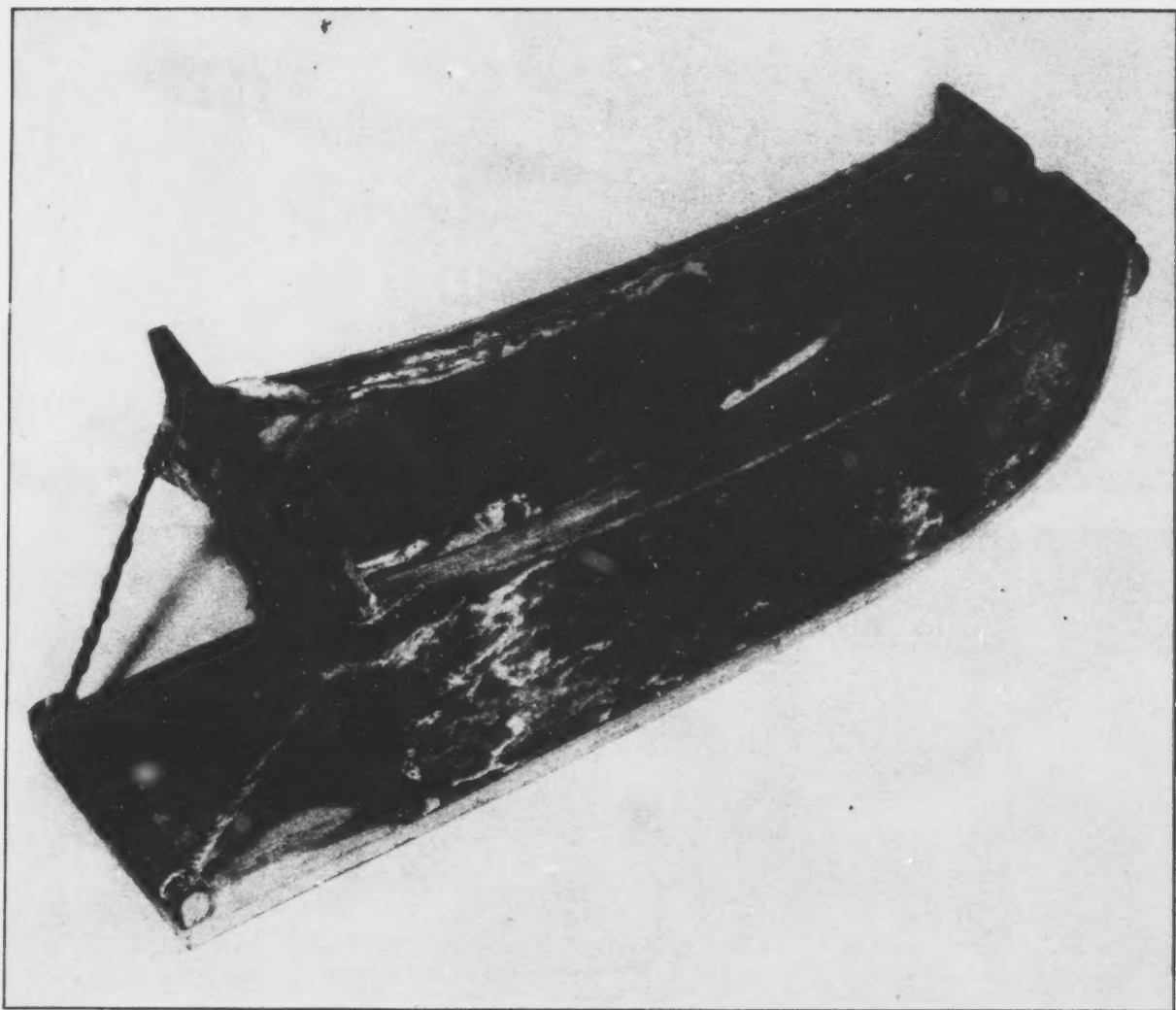
Dr. R. J. Nash; H4.31-12 a, b

SNOWSHOES (*Īgh*)

Wood, babiche, wire

a - 86 cm, 26.5 cm; b - 86 cm, 26.5 cm; Joe Bighead -

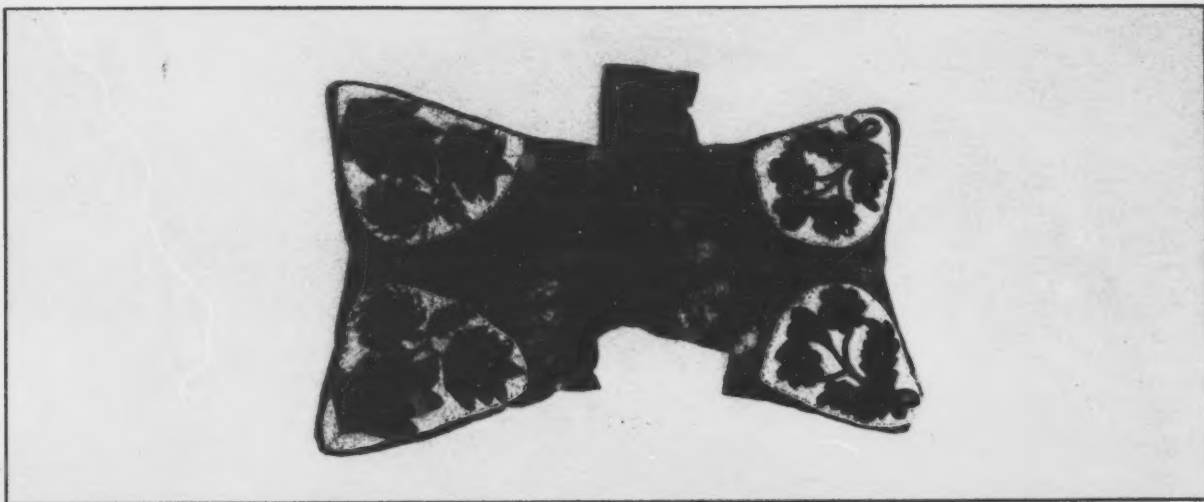
Churchill, 1968; Dr. R.J. Nash; H4.31-17 a, b



MODEL TOBOGGAN (*Běh chěně*)

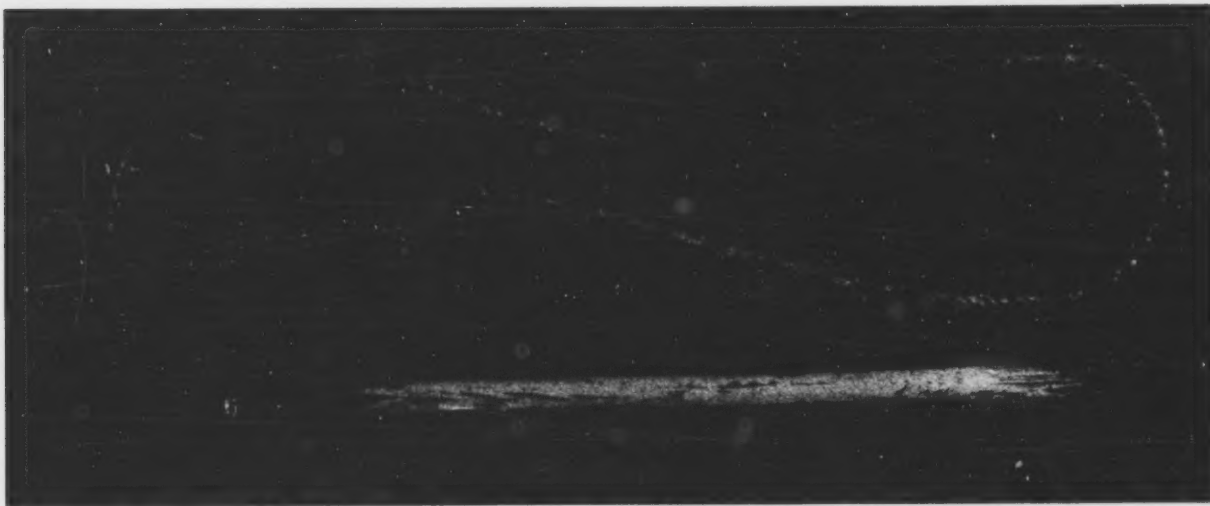
*Wood, caribou skin, commercial
string, metal*

61.8 cm, 19.2 cm; Sandy French — Churchill, 1968;
Dr. R. J. Nash; H4.31-3



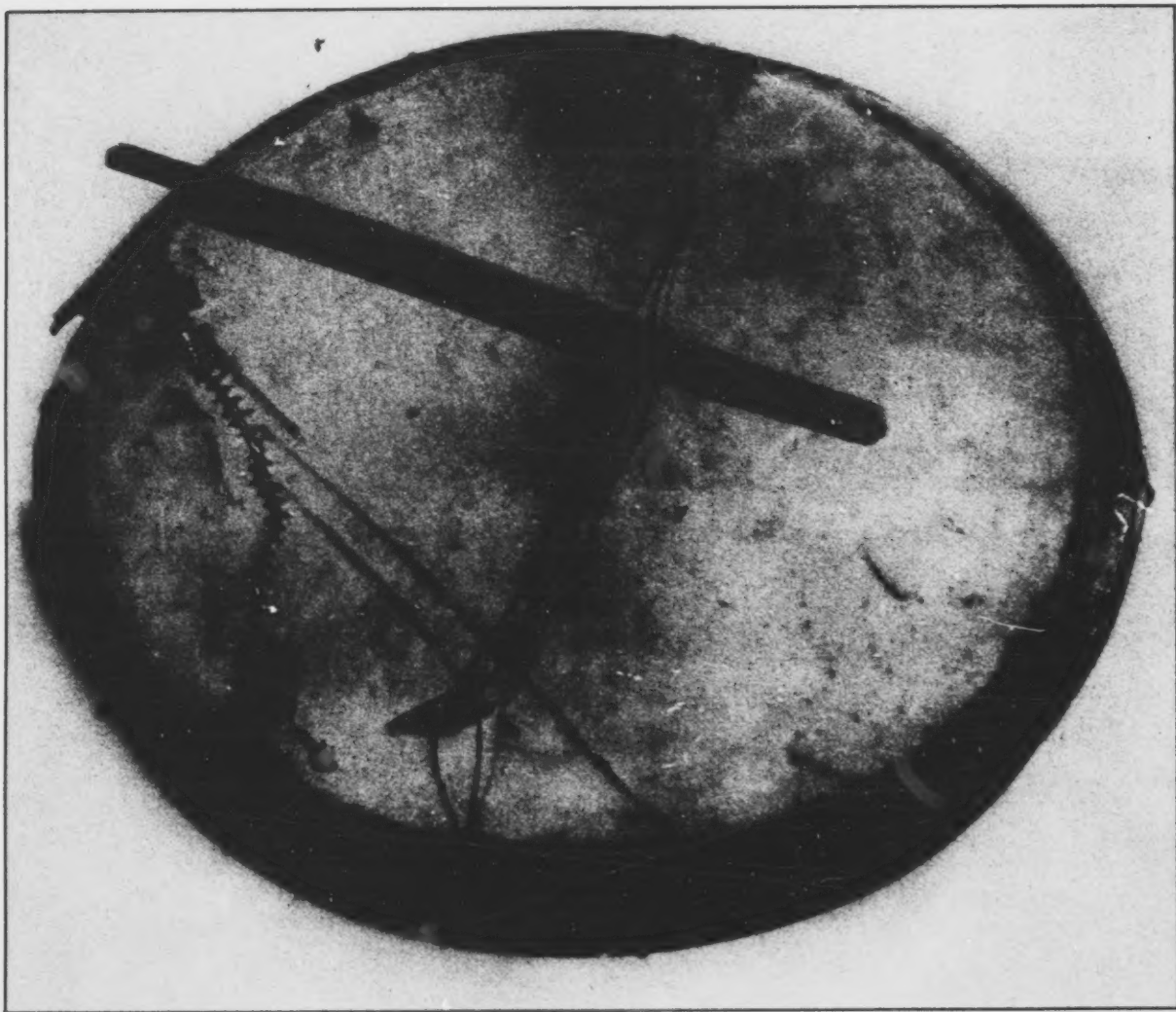
DOG SADDLE (*Cleen tzědě*)
*Smoke-tanned hide (caribou?),
 sinew, cotton thread, seed beads*

47.5 cm, 31.5 cm; 1944;
 J.S. De Lacy; H4.31-50



DOG WHIP (*El thĩthē*)
*Wood, braided caribou skin,
 commercial string, suede, paint*

160.4 cm, 4.5 cm; Brochet, 1960;
 D. Evans; H4.31-47



DRUM AND DRUMSTICK
(Ėlghėlė & ėlghėlė dėchėnė)

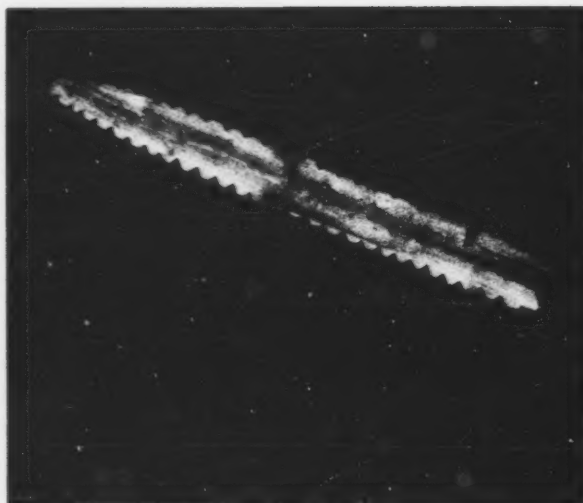
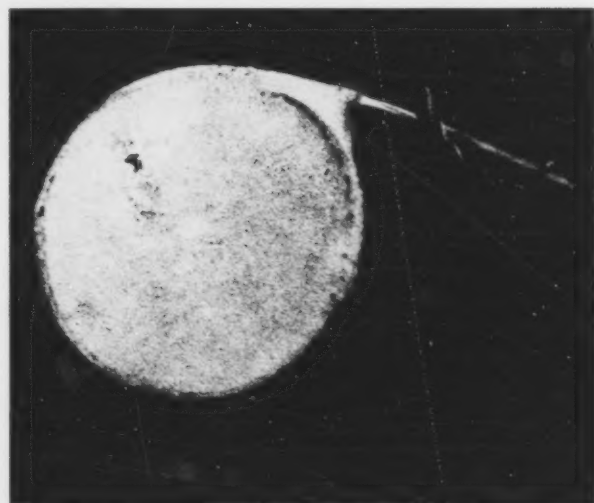
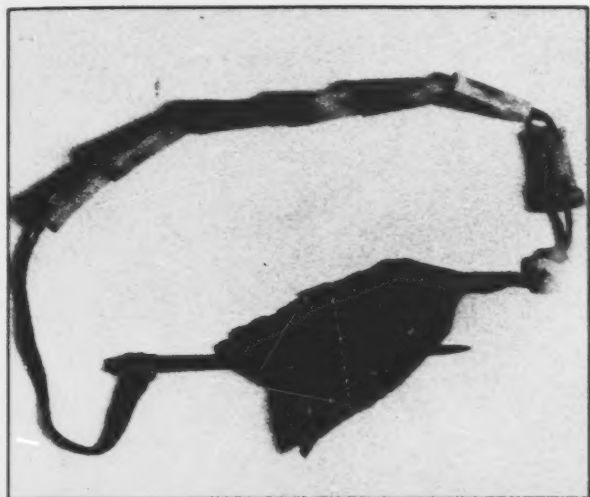
The drums would be played during the singing of songs and playing of the hand game.

a - Wood, caribou skin, wire, cotton, caribou sinew, metal, "pearl finish" plastic

a - 39 cm, 6.3 cm; b - 29.5 cm, 5 cm;

Fred Jawbone - Churchill, 1968;

Dr. R. J. Nash; H4.31-30 a, b



RING AND PIN GAME (*Kěn tzāl zoosē*)

The stick is held in one hand and the game is to catch the bones or button on the stick. Forty points are scored for catching the button, thirty for the hole on the last bone and the rest are all one point.

Caribou toe joint bones, wood, caribou skin, plastic

85.2 cm, 6.25 cm; Betsy Anderson — Churchill, 1973;
Allan Code; H4.31-74

RATTLE (*Del thēdi*)

*Caribou skin, wood, caribou sinew,
small hard objects, commercial string*

20.1 cm, 12.1 cm; Joe Bighead — Churchill, 1968;
Dr. R. J. Nash; H4.31-23

BULL ROARER (*Dě chěn děl nēē*)

The bull roarer is a toy which when swung by the lace makes a whirring sound.

Wood, moose skin thong

33.9 cm, 4.2 cm; Joe Bighead — Churchill, 1968;
Dr. R. J. Nash; H4.31-24



MAN'S MOCCASINS (*kě soon cleēnē*)

*Commercially tanned caribou hide,
caribou sinew, commercial white thread*

a — 26 cm, 11 cm; b — 26 cm, 11 cm; Effie Powderhorn —
Tadoule Lake, 1974; John T. Frishholz, Allan and Mary
Code; H4.31-110 a, b

BONNET (*Tzā thūl*)

This was worn by a baby and kept the
mosquitos off its head.

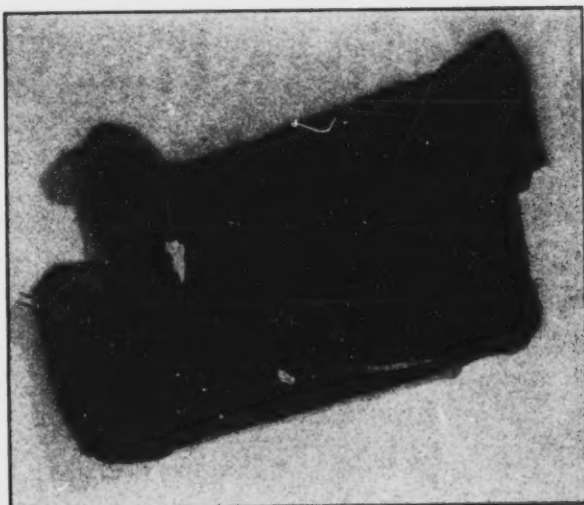
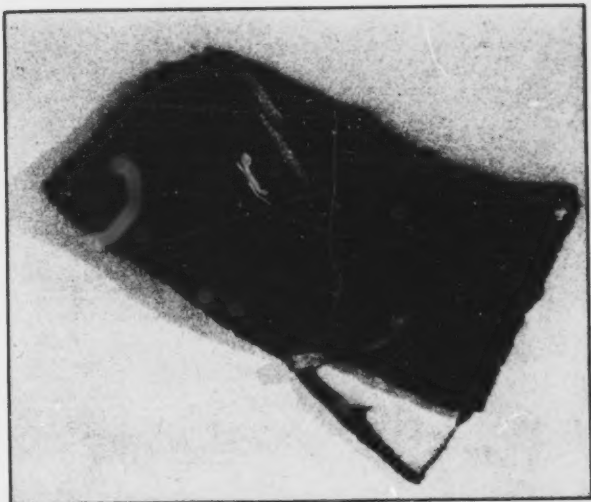
*Cotton duck, embroidered cotton, faille,
satin, paisley*

17 cm, 14 cm; Mrs. Annie Thorassie — Churchill, 1973;
Dr. P. D. Elias, Allan Code; H4.31-71

MAN'S SUMMER SHIRT (*Ė kálh ēē*)

*Commercially tanned caribou hide,
caribou sinew*

79 cm, 58 cm; Effie Powderhorn — Tadoule Lake, 1974;
John T. Frishholz, Allan and Mary Code; H4.31-87



HOOD

*Commercially tanned caribou hide,
caribou sinew*

47 cm, 32 cm; Mary Bussidor – Tadoule Lake, 1974;
John T. Frishholz, Allan and Mary Code; H4.31-102

WOMAN'S WINTER COAT (*Dě clōwēē ēē*)

*Commercially tanned caribou hide,
caribou sinew*

120 cm, 147 cm; Mary Bussidor – Tadoule Lake, 1974;
John T. Frishholz, Allan and Mary Code; H4.31-103

WOMAN'S WINTER LEGGINGS

(*Dě clōwēē kēā*)

*Commercially tanned caribou hide,
caribou sinew*

a – 71 cm, 29 cm; b – 71 cm, 29 cm; Mary Bussidor –
Tadoule Lake, 1974; John T. Frishholz, Allan and Mary
Code; H4.31-101 a, b



MAN'S WINTER PARKA (*Dě clōwēē ēē*)

*Commercially tanned caribou hide,
caribou sinew*

144 cm, 160 cm; Alice Solomon — Tadoule Lake, 1974;
John T. Frishholz, Allan and Mary Code; H4.31-96

MAN'S SUMMER MITTENS (*Ėll jōūse jēese*)

The separate index finger was useful for
pulling the trigger of a rifle.

*Commercially tanned caribou hide,
caribou sinew*

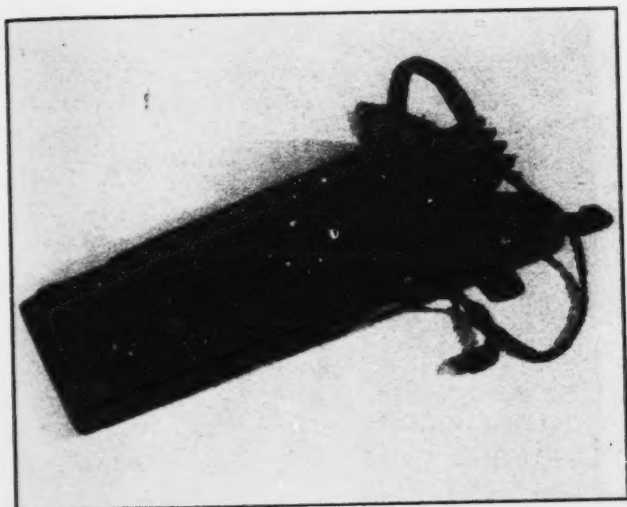
a — 33 cm, 14 cm; b — 33 cm, 14 cm; Effie Powderhorn —
Tadoule Lake, 1974; John T. Frishholz, Allan and Mary
Code; H4.31-78 a, b

MAN'S WINTER MOCCASINS

(*Dě clōwēē kēā*)

Commercially tanned caribou hide, caribou sinew

a — 34.5 cm, 15.9 cm; b — 34.5 cm, 15.9 cm; Alice Solomon —
Tadoule Lake, 1974; John T. Frishholz, Allan and Mary
Code; H4.31-98 a, b



CRADLE BOARD (*Thůl cheňě*)

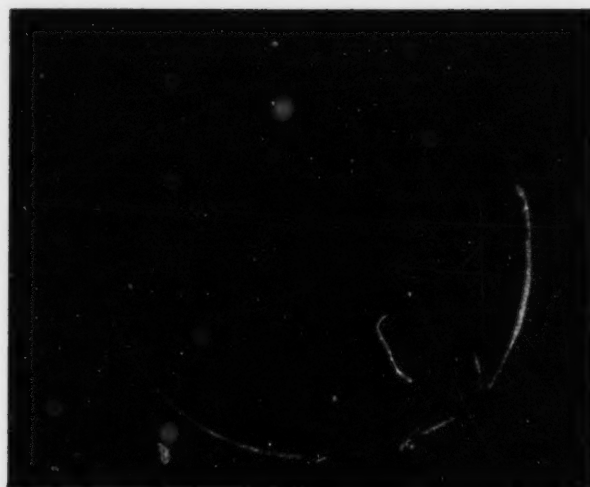
*Wood, suede, wool, gabardine,
cotton, silk thread*

52.5 cm, 22.4 cm; John Clipping – Tadoule Lake;
John T. Frishholz, Allan and Mary Code; H4.31-95

SLEEPING ROBE (*Dě clōwēē tzědě*)

*Commercially tanned caribou hide,
caribou sinew*

173 cm, 74 cm; Caroline Thorassie – Tadoule Lake, 1974;
John T. Frishholz, Allan and Mary Code; H4.31-108



MODEL TENT

Commercially tanned caribou hide

300 cm, 65.1 cm; Caroline Thorassie – Tadoule Lake, 1974;
John T. Frishholz, Allan and Mary Code; H4.31-89

SLING (*Tthe clóolē*)

a - Caribou skin

b - Stone (granite)

a – 221.3 cm, 6 cm; b – 4.5 cm, 3.4 cm;

Joe Bighead – Churchill, 1968;

Dr. R. J. Nash; H4.31-25 a,b

HOOP (*Dwn nee ghoo wee*)

The hoop would be covered and is used
to keep flies away from the baby.

Poplar, caribou skin thong

32 cm, 1.3 cm; John Clipping – Tadoule Lake, 1974;
John T. Frishholz, Allan and Mary Code; H4.31-94

V. The Chipewyan Ethnology Collection of the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature

A ORAL AND VIDEO TAPES

Oral interviews were conducted by Allan and Mary Code in the communities of Churchill, Tadoule Lake, North Knife Lake and Brochet in the spring and summer of 1973. Translations from Chipewyan to English were done by Geoffrey Bussidor.

Legends and stories record information on the origin of the Chipewyan, their first contact with white men, conflicts with other Indians and Inuit and life histories.

Songs which accompany hand games being played are recorded as well as recollections of chants sung by previous shamans.

Contributors

Anderson, Albert
Ansanen, Pierre
Antsanen, Simon
Bighead, Joe
Bussidor, Ronnie
and family
Clipping, Annie
Clipping, John
Clipping, Sandy
Denechez, Louis
Duck, Fred
Duck, Simon

Duck, Thomas
Ellis, Joe
Loone, Estelle
Mowatt, Fanny
Solomon, Mr. and
Mrs. Adam
Tessessage, Alfred
Tom, Mary
Tom, Celia
Thorassie, Baptiste
Yassie, Simon

Video tapes were recorded in the communities of Churchill, Tadoule Lake and Brochet in the spring and summer of 1973 by Allan and Mary Code. Translations from Chipewyan into English were done by Geoffrey Bussidor.

Information concerning the signing of the first treaty, and early contact with the Cree and Eskimo are recorded. Discussion of commercial fishing takes place. Shots of people preparing hides, playing the ring and pin game or hand game can be seen.

Contributors

Anderson, Albert
Anderson, Betsy
Antsanen, Marie
Bighead, Jessie
Bighead, Joe

Bussidor, Ronnie
Clipping, Anderson
Clipping, Annie
Clipping, John
Clipping, Rubina

Clipping, Sandy
Code, Allan
Code, Mary
Code, Robert
Cutlip, Isaac
Danttouze, Marie
Denechêze, Abel
Duck, David
Duck, Fred
Duck, Simon
Duck, Thomas

Gazanglarde, Mr.
and Mrs. Peter
Jawbone, Fred
Kithithee, Charlie
Loone, William
Solomon, John
Powderhorn, Effie
Thorassie, Baptiste
Thorassie, Caroline
Thorassie, Mary Ann

*Oral and Video tapes are jointly copyrighted by the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature and the Chipewyan people in Manitoba. Permission is necessary for their use.

B SLIDES AND BLACK & WHITE PHOTOS

Slides were taken in the summer of 1973 by Allan Code in the following locations:

Brochet
Churchill - Churchill, Ft. Churchill, Dene Village,
the Flats, the west side of the Churchill River, the
Hudson Bay
Tadoule Lake

The majority of the slides and photos are community pictures of the people. There are slides of people at Dene Village on Treaty Day and medical personnel with their equipment set up at Tadoule Lake for their monthly visit. Different aspects of their material culture are photographed.

*Slides are jointly copyrighted by the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature and the Chipewyan people in Manitoba. Permission is necessary for their use.

C ARTIFACTS

All but one of the artifacts have been collected in Manitoba and the majority were collected by personnel working at the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature during the last seven years in co-operation with the Chipewyan.

C ARTIFACTS

Catalogue No.	Artifact r	Location	Artisan	Date
H4.31-1	Babiche bag (glōolē hel tāllē nē dūddy nāl chēth)			1941
H4.31-2	Babiche bag (glōolē hēl tāllē nē dūddy nāl chēth)	Northern Manitoba		
H4.31-3	Toboggan (model) (bēh chēnē)	Churchill	Sandy French	1968
H4.31-4	Snowshoes (īgh)	Churchill	Sandy French	1968
H4.31-5	Bow and arrows (inle tingh & gkāv)	Churchill	Sandy French	1968
H4.31-6	Leggings	Churchill	Sandy French	1968
H4.31-7	Crossbow (di kginle tinnē)	Churchill	Sandy French	1968
H4.31-8	Caribou spear (thūnle)	Churchill	Sandy French	1968
H4.31-9	Whistle (bē dta ulyisi)	Churchill	Sandy French	1968
H4.31-10	Cradleboard (thūl chēnē)	Churchill	Jessie Bussidor	1968
H4.31-11	Caribou skin bag (etthiu tzeen nāl chēth)	Churchill	Jessie Bussidor	1968
H4.31-12	Snowshoe needles (choole chēnē)	Churchill	John Bussidor	1968
H4.31-13	Mittens (geese)	Churchill	Jessie Bussidor	1968
			John Bussidor	
H4.31-14	Ring and pin game (kēn tzāl zoosē)	Churchill	Jessie Bussidor	1968
			John Bussidor	
H4.31-16	Moccasins (ē kahl kē)	Churchill	Ronnie Tom	1968
H4.31-17	Snowshoes (īgh)	Churchill	Joe Bighead	1968
H4.31-18	Flesher (ine ghōl)	Churchill	Joe Bighead	1968
H4.31-19	Drill (bē dta dē chēnē ēl dētthē)	Churchill	Joe Bighead	1968
H4.31-20	Caribou decoy (ē dēa thēale yēē)	Churchill	Joe Bighead	1968
H4.31-21	Mouse decoy (yē lā bā bēth)	Churchill	Joe Bighead	1968
H4.31-22	Two-handed scraper (ine thinnlē)	Churchill	Joe Bighead	1968
H4.31-23	Rattle (del thēdi)	Churchill	Joe Bighead	1968
H4.31-24	Bull roarer (dē chēn dēl nēē)	Churchill	Joe Bighead	1968
H4.31-25	Sling (tthe clōolē)	Churchill	Joe Bighead	1968
H4.31-26	Bag (nāl chēth)	Churchill	Joe Bighead	1968
H4.31-27	Mittens (geese)	Churchill	Joe Bighead	1968
H4.31-28	Tanning knife	Churchill	Joe Bighead	1968
H4.31-29	Crooked knife (bēs haūth)	Churchill	Joe Bighead	1968
H4.31-30	Drum and drumstick (ēlghēlē & ēlghēlē dēchēnē)	Churchill	Fred Jawbone	1968
H4.31-31	Fishing jigger	Churchill	Sandy Ellice	1968
H4.31-32	Fishing jigger	Churchill	Sandy Ellice	1968
H4.31-33	Crooked knife (bēs haūth)	Churchill	Peter Bussidor	1968
H4.31-34	Flesher (ine ghōl)	Churchill	Peter Bussidor	1968
H4.31-35	Tanning knife	Churchill	Peter Bussidor	1968
H4.31-36	Two-handed scraper (ine thinnlē)	Churchill	Peter Bussidor	1968
H4.31-37	Two handed scraper (ine thinnlē)	Churchill		1968
H4.31-38	Drill (bē dta dē chēnē ēl dētthē)	Churchill	Albert Mowat	1968

H4.31-39	Two-handed scraper (ine thinnlě)	Churchill		1968
H4.31-40	Caribou skin coat	Churchill	Mrs. Joe Bighead	1968
H4.31-41	Cradleboard (thul chěně)	Burton Rock near Churchill		1968
H4.31-42	Flesher (ine ghōl)	Churchill		1968
H4.31-43	Tanning knife	Churchill	Jessie Bussidor	1968
H4.31-44	Sash (e tzān thěth)	Churchill		1968
H4.31-45	Toboggan (běh chěně)	Egenolf Lake		1968
H4.31-46	Spear (thūnle)	Duck Lake		1962
H4.31-47	Dog whip (el thithē)	Brochet		1960's
H4.31-48	Sled brake? (be dta clēen nā dēel ēji)	Windy River Post, Neultin Lake, N.W.T.		1969
H4.31-49	Model canoe (tzēē)			
H4.31-50	Dog saddle (clēen tzēdē)			1944
H4.31-51	Beaded pocket (ēdtūzē nālchěth)			
H4.31-52	Moccasins (ě kāl h kě)			
H4.31-53	Beaded gloves (bel dtoozē ġeesē)			
H4.31-54	Glove (ģeesē)			
H4.31-56	Purse (nal cheth)			
H4.31-57	Toboggan (běh chěně)	Little Duck Lake		1971
H4.31-58	Paddle blades (dtōth)	Misty Lake		1971
H4.31-59	Paddles (dtōth tēlī)	Little Duck Lake		1971
H4.31-60	Snowshoes (īgh)	Southern Misty Lake		1971
H4.31-61	Basket (gkī tēlē)			1970
H4.31-62	Basket (gkī tēlē)			1970
H4.31-63	Scraper (EE-Woldth-nay-chi)	Churchill	Mrs. Mary Ann Thorassie	1973
H4.31-64	Scraper (EE-Woldth-nay-chi)	Churchill	Mrs. Mary Ann Thorassie	1973
H4.31-65	Scraper (knee thalh)	Churchill	Mrs. Mary Ann Thorassie	1973
H4.31-66	Knife and blade protector (bis halth)	Churchill	Albert Anderson	1973
H4.31-67	Two-handed scraper (ine thinnlě)	Churchill	Mrs. Mary Ann Thorassie	1973
H4.31-68	Snowshoe needles (klue lay chen ney)	Churchill	Albert Anderson	1973
H4.31-69	Fire steel (l'lith)	Churchill	Mrs. Annie Thorassie	1973
H4.31-70	Cradle board (thūl chěně)	Churchill	Mrs. Annie Thorassie	1973
H4.31-71	Baby bonnet (tzā thūl)	Churchill	Mrs. Annie Thorassie	1973
H4.31-72	Sewing bag (ě nhl kīn nāl chěth)	Churchill	Mrs. Annie Thorassie	1973
H4.31-73	Pin and cup game	Churchill	Mrs. Bussidor?	1973
H4.31-74	Ring and pin game (kēn tzāl zoosē)	Churchill	Betsy Anderson	1973
H4.31-75	Moccasins (ě kāl h kě)	Churchill	Jessie Bighead	1973

H4.31-76	Mittens (geese)	Inkster Collection		
H4.31-77	Mittens (geese)	Inkster Collection		
H4.31-78 to 113 were collected as part of a project to secure artifacts for an upcoming gallery, the Arctic-Subarctic. Caribou hides, bought and then commercially tanned in Winnipeg, were sent to Tadoule Lake and Churchill for the people to make		the artifacts. Some of the artifacts are articles still used today, while others were ones made from memory, such as in the case where older women taught the younger women traditional styles for constructing the clothing.		
H4.31-78	Man's summer mittens (ëll joûse jēese)	Tadoule Lake	Effie Powderhorn	1974
H4.31-79	Telescope case (bëyâyëhëa tdëen thëth)	Tadoule Lake	Fanny Clipping	1974
H4.31-80	Game bag (hã tdãthëe nönl chëth)	Tadoule Lake	Fanny Clipping	1974
H4.31-81	Gun case (günnth)	Tadoule Lake	Fanny Clipping	1974
H4.31-82	Powder bag (ëll gkëe chō thëth)	Tadoule Lake	Fanny Clipping	1974
H4.31-83	Child's shirt (ë kãlh ëe)	Tadoule Lake	Nancy French	1974
H4.31-84	Child's summer trousers (ë kãlh clã ëe)	Tadoule Lake	Nancy French	1974
H4.31-85	Woman's summer skirt (ë kãlh ëe clã)	Tadoule Lake	Mary Sandberry	1974
H4.31-86	Woman's summer shirt (ë kãlh ëe)	Tadoule Lake	Mary Sandberry	1974
H4.31-87	Man's summer shirt (ë kãlh ëe)	Tadoule Lake	Effie Powderhorn	1974
H4.31-88	Man's summer trousers (ë kãlh clã ëe)	Tadoule Lake	Effie Powderhorn	1974
H4.31-89	Model tent	Tadoule Lake	Caroline Thorassie	1974
H4.31-90	Net weaving shuttle (ëh thül chëné)	Tadoule Lake	John Clipping	1974
H4.31-91	Awl (thül)	Tadoule Lake	John Clipping	1974
H4.31-92	Bird decoy (yëläbã bëth)	Tadoule Lake	John Clipping	1974
H4.31-93	Fish hook (jëth)	Tadoule Lake	John Clipping	1974
H4.31-94	Hoop (dwn nee ghoo wee)	Tadoule Lake	John Clipping	1974
H4.31-95	Cradleboard (thül chëné)	Tadoule Lake	John Clipping	1974
H4.31-96	Man's winter parka (dë clōwëe ëe)	Tadoule Lake	Alice Solomon	1974
H4.31-97	Man's winter pants (dë clōwëe clã ëe)	Tadoule Lake	Alice Solomon	1974
H4.31-98	Man's winter moccasins (dë clōwëe këa)	Tadoule Lake	Alice Solomon	1974
H4.31-99	Man's winter mittens (dë clōwëe jēese)	Tadoule Lake	Alice Solomon	1974
H4.31-100	Woman's winter mittens (dë clōwëe jēese)	Tadoule Lake	Mary Bussidor	1974
H4.31-101	Woman's winter leggings (dë clōwëe këa)	Tadoule Lake	Mary Bussidor	1974
H4.31-102	Hood	Tadoule Lake	Mary Bussidor	1974
H4.31-103	Woman's winter coat (dë clōwëe ëe)	Tadoule Lake	Mary Bussidor	1974
H4.31-104	Child's winter moccasins (dë clōwëe këa)	Tadoule Lake	Nancy French	1974
H4.31-105	Child's winter trousers (dë clōwëe clã ëe)	Tadoule Lake	Nancy French	1974
H4.31-106	Child's winter parka (dë clōwëe ëe)	Tadoule Lake	Nancy French	1974
H4.31-107	Man's winter parka (dë clōwëe ëe)	Tadoule Lake	John Solomon	1974
H4.31-108	Sleeping bag (dë clōwëe tzëdë)	Tadoule Lake	Caroline Thorassie	1974
H4.31-109	Sleeping bag (dë clōwëe tzëdë)	Tadoule Lake	Caroline Thorassie	1974
H4.31-110	Man's moccasins (kë soon clëenë)	Tadoule Lake	Effie Powderhorn	1974
H4.31-111	Woman's moccasins (jēese kë)	Tadoule Lake	Mary Sandberry	1974
H4.31-112	Child's moccasins (kë soon clëenë)	Tadoule Lake	Nancy French	1974
H4.31-113	Man's moccasins (kë soon clëenë)	Tadoule Lake	Effie Powderhorn	1974

VL Bibliography

This bibliography gives prehistoric and historic references to the Chipewyan people as delineated in the first chapter of the History section of this publication. The eighteenth century accounts of Samuel Hearne serve as an invaluable source of data for the early contact period. Not only do they provide specific information on different aspects of Chipewyan material and social culture, but they give the reader a good idea of the feast/famine nature of existence so typical of Arctic and Subarctic living.

Studies undertaken by Beryl C. Gillespie that analyze the territorial expansion and changes in

technology of the Chipewyan in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries draw together many primary references of that time.

Although limited in scope, Kaj Birket-Smith's (1929) report from a one month stay in Churchill is an important contribution to Manitoba Chipewyan studies. J.G.E. Smith's studies of the ecological base of Chipewyan territorial expansion and organization, along with his own recent work with the Barren Lands Band, are invaluable aids to the understanding of Caribou Eater Chipewyan culture and the processes of change.

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